

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 L-03 ACDA-19 OMB-01 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 EB-11 DRC-01 /113 W

----- 105854

R 281958Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8951

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

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SHAPE FOR INTAF; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MCAP, PFOR, GW, FR, UK, NATO

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION: OBSERVATIONS OF  
SENIOR FRG FONOFF OFFICIAL

REF: BONN 16821(LIMDIS)

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPORTS ON NOV 27 COMMENTS  
WHICH FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL MADE TO EMBOFF'S  
ON CURRENT DIALOGUE ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. VAN  
WELL GENERALLY CONFIRMED ANALYSIS REPORTED IN

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REFERENCED MESSAGE, ADDING THAT FRG PREFERS EUROGROUP

TO WEU INSTRUMENT BUT IS READY TO BE SOMEWHAT FLEXIBLE IN ENCOURAGING ACTIVE FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. VAN WELL EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THE GERMANS ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID ANY STEPS THAT COULD BURDEN "THE ALLIANCE INTEGRATED POLICY" OF DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE. END SUMMARY

1. VAN WELL SAID THE RECENT EUROPEAN DIALOGUE ON DEFENSE COOPERATION HAD DEVELOPED QUITE A MOMENTUM IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS BUT THAT NO CLEAR LINES WERE YET SET. HE RECALLED THAT THE DISCUSSION OF NEW FORMS OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION HAD BEEN STIMULATED LAST YEAR BY FRENCH PROPOSALS TO USE THE STANDING ARMAMENT COMMISSION OF THE WEU FOR EUROPEAN ARMS COOPERATION STUDIES AND PROJECTS. THE FRENCH HAD ALSO SOUGHT BILATERALLY TO INTENSIFY ARMS COOPERATION WITH THE FRG, CITING RELEVANT CLAUSE OF THE 1963 ELYSEE AGREEMENT. VAN WELL SAID THE GERMANS HAVE REACTED COOLY TO USING THE WEU FOR ARMS COOPERATION AND INFORMED THE FRENCH THAT THERE WAS ONLY A LIMITED POTENTIAL FOR SUCH BILATERAL COOPERATION UNDER THE ELYSEE AGREEMENT.

2. OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, THE GERMANS HAVE EMPHASIZED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR THE EUROGROUP AS OPPOSED TO THE WEU. BONN HAS TOLD PARIS THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT A STRONG EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION REMAIN CLOSELY LINKED TO THE ALLIANCE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE ALLIANCE INTEGRATED POLICY OF DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE. VAN WELL VOICED ENCOURAGEMENT WITH THE FRENCH MOVEMENT ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE IN THE MONTHS SINCE JOBERT'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH. HE NOTED REFERENCE IN PARIS DRAFT ATLANTIC DECLARATION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ALLIANCE WOULD REMAIN UNTIL THE ATTAINMENT OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT.

3. VAN WELL SAID THE GERMANS UNDERSTOOD THAT FRANCE DID NOT INTEND TO RETURN TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY COMMAND. PARIS WAS NOT DEMANDING AN "INDEPENDENT" BUT RATHER AN "AUTONOMOUS" EUROPEAN DEFENSE, IN WHICH THE EUROPEAN ROLE IN DECISION MAKING WOULD BE A SECRET

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SEPARATE ONE TO BE WEIGHTED EQUALLY WITH THAT OF THE U.S. PARTNER. VAN WELL SAID THIS FRENCH DESIRE, WHICH MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED ON SECURITY AND DEFENSE ISSUES, WAS NOT IN FACT SO DIFFERENT FROM THE OLD TWO PILLAR OR DUMBBELL CONCEPTS. VAN WELL THOUGHT SUCH SECURITY/OEDEFENSE CONSULTATIONS COULD BE UNDERTAKEN INITIALLY IN THE EUROGROUP IF FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS WERE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE ALONG WITH THEIR

DEFENSE MINISTRY COLLEAGUES. BONN MIGHT BE PREPARED TO  
CONSIDER SOME ADAPTATIONS OF THE EUROGROUP IF NECESSARY  
TO FACILITATE SOME FRENCH PARTICIPATION. VAN WELL SAID  
THE GERMANS ARE RATHER RESERVED REGARDING THE USE OF  
WEU FOR THESE PURPOSES, BUT WOULD BE PREPARED TO  
DISCUSS THIS POSSIBILITY AS THE MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO  
FIND AN APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH EUROPEAN POLICY  
CONSULTATIONS.

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE

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4. IN THIS CONNECTION, VAN WELL NOTED CHANCELLOR  
BRANDT'S NOV 26 STATEMENT IN PARIS THAT POLITICAL

COOPERATION IN EUROPE COULD NOT DO WELL WITHOUT DEFENSE  
COOPERATION BUT THAT THERE NEED BE NO CONFLICT BETWEEN  
NATO'S EUROGROUP AND CONTACTS IN BODIES IN WHICH  
FRANCE WAS REPRESENTED. VAN WELL SAID THE CHANCELLOR'S  
COMMENTS UNDERSCORED HIS POINT THAT GERMANS WOULD BE  
FLEXIBLE AS LONG AS NO STEPS WERE TAKEN THAT COULD  
BURDEN THE ALLIANCE. VAN WELL ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT  
BRANDT'S COMMENT IN PARIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD TO  
CONFLICT WITH DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER'S NOV 22 WEU  
SPEECH (PARIS 30341) WHICH ACCURATELY REFLECTED CURRENT  
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GERMAN POLICY; VAN WELL INDICATED THAT THE CHANCELLOR  
WAS ENGAGING IN A BIT OF POLITESSE.

5. AS TO FRENCH FUTURE INTENTIONS, VAN WELL SAID HE HAD  
BEEN SOMEWHAT DISTURBED BY THE THRUST OF JOBERT'S WEU  
SPEECH (PARIS 30340) TO THE EFFECT THAT EUROPEAN  
DEFENSE EFFORT IS SOMEHOW AN ESSENTIAL BUT SEPARATE PART  
OF THE BALANCE OF FORCES WHICH CANNOT BE MAINTAINED  
EXCLUSIVELY BY TWO PARTNERS OR ENTITIES.

VAN WELL SAID BONN ENVISIONS THE BALANCE OF  
FORCES AS BEING BETWEEN THE SOVIET BLOC AND NATO  
AND DOES NOT SEE ANY SEPARATE OR DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.  
THE DETERMINING FACTOR FOR WESTERN DEFENSE, SAID VAN  
WELL, IS THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH MUST BE BALANCED OFF  
IN ALL ASPECTS OF ITS DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE POSTURE;  
THIS WOULD INCLUDE SUCH THINGS AS THE DEPTH OF  
TERRITORY INVOLVED, CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR STRENGTH,  
THE SPEED WITH WHICH SOVIET COMMAND STRUCTURE CARRIES  
OUT DECISIONS, MANPOWER AND WEAPONRY. VAN WELL MADE  
CLEAR THAT THESE TASKS COULD BE CARRIED OUT "ONLY BY  
THE ALLIANCE AS IT PRESENTLY EXISTS."

6. IN CLOSING, VAN WELL SAID HE WAS AWARE OF THE  
DIFFICULT DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES ON POMPIDOU  
COMING FROM DEBRE AND GAULLISTS AS WELL AS FROM THE  
FRENCH LEFT. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE NOTED RECENT  
COMMENT OF CHABAN-DELMAS THAT EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERA-  
TION SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT "IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE  
ALLIANCE." VAN WELL ALSO NOTED STATEMENT OF THEULE  
FAVORING FRENCH ENTRY INTO THE EUROGROUP. FINALLY,  
NOTING GERMAN EMBASSY REPORT FROM PARIS, VAN WELL SAID  
HE UNDERSTOOD JOBERT HAD CAUTIOUSLY AVOIDED DIRECT  
REPLY TO QUESTIONS FROM WEU ASSEMBLY MEMBERS ON FRENCH  
PARTICIPATION IN EUROGROUP, REPLYING THAT HE HAD ALREADY  
MADE ONE PROPOSAL IN HIS SPEECH AND IMPLYING THAT  
HE DID NOT WANT TO GO TOO FAR OUT ON A LIMB.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 NOV 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973BONN17157  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t1973119/aaaaaged.tel  
**Line Count:** 222  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** BONN 16821(LIMDIS)  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <26-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION: OBSERVATIONS OF SENIOR FRG FONOFF OFFICIAL  
**TAGS:** MCAP, PFOR, GE, FR, UK, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005